32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

183 182 128 an be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding nunui, witchcraft, or kin-hip.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam wakanl*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jivaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *nekas* wakanl, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

794

THE ARUTAM SOUL[4]

Arutam wakanl is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. [196] The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakanl" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakanl [787] is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has [154] been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jivaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be [761] killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is [164] not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[5] [152] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession [154] is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jivaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, [761] and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do [562] not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain [628] arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

[857] A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Ac- [788] companied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred [798] waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a [785] few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander [876] about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[3] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

794 787 If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The arutam soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation, soul-loss; soul-capture; nonshamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally-acquired impersonal power, kakarma, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian mana.

The concept of the muisak furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. In conclusion, one may observe that the Jívaro are so preoccupied with killing in real life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the muisak and the arutam soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jívaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

A COMMENTARY ON PREVIOUS REPORTS

A few brief comments seem to be due the reader to clarify the differences between the statements presented here and those of Karsten and Stirling, the chief contributors to the literature on the Jívaro proper. The souls will be considered here in the same order as in the preceding body of the paper, with the arutam soul first.

The "arutam" dealt with here is the "*arutama*" of Karsten (1935:448–51) and the "*tsarutama*" of Stirling (1938:115, 116). Karsten's term is a corruption of "arutam," found in a trade language used between the Jívaro and the Ecuadorian mestizos living in the village of Macas. As Karsten (1954:25) has already pointed out, Stirling's term does not exist in the Jívaro dialect.

Karsten (1954:25) has stated, "The word *aruka* or *arutam* in the Jíbaro language means 'old'; as a religious term *arutama* may be translated into 'The Old Ones.' . . ." Actually, however, while both words do have the same root, and *arutA* does indeed mean "old" or "used," the term "arutam" refers exclusively to the special vision which I have termed "ancient specter." My informants assured me that it does not mean "old ones." Also an arutam, however frightening it may appear, never kills anyone, despite a statement to the contrary by Karsten (1935:450). Although Karsten (1935:448–50) had some of the visions described to him, he was unaware of the souls responsible for them and the related system of belief.

While Stirling (1938:115) recognizes a similarity between his "*tsarutama*" (arutam) and concepts of the mana type in other cultures, he is misleading in stating that "tsarutama" is the force itself or that "it gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants or natural phenomena." When an arutam appears to a Jívaro, it is actually recognized to be a vision, distinct from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena.